NATIONAL GUARDIAN
5 cents
the progressive newsweekly
Vol. 4, No. 52 NEW YORK, N. Y., OCTOBER 16, 1952

Shall the lives of these two young Americans be sacrificed?

Following is the comment written jointly by Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in the Death House at Sing Sing Prison, New York, three days before the Supreme Court refused to review their conviction and death sentence:

OUR pleas to the Supreme Court have been restricted by legal protocol, but before the bar of public opinion we cannot reassert often or emphatically enough our complete innocence of the charge.

One matter should be made unequivocally clear. No matter what the result, we will continue in our determination to expose the political frame-up perpetrated against us by those who would silence by death, through spurious espionage accusations, opposition to the conspiracy to impose war abroad and a police state at home.

We do not want to die. We are young and yearn for a long life of accomplishment. Yet, if the only alternative to death is the purchase of life at the cost of personal dignity and abandonment of the struggle for democracy and ethical standards, there is no future for us or any legacy we can leave our children or those who survive and follow us.

For what is life without the right to live it? Death holds no horror as great as the horror of a sterile existence devoid of social responsibility and the courage of one's convictions..

We believe that our fellow Americans share these sentiments. We believe that they will save us—and themselves—from this conspiracy to put to death innocent Americans.

Ethel Rosenberg
Julius Rosenberg

ROBERT and MICHAEL ROSENBERG
What will be their legacy?

THE LAW

Rosenberg appeal rejected; Defense charts next steps

BY an 8-to-1 decision with only Justice Black dissenting, the U. S. Supreme Court on Monday refused to review the cases of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, sentenced to death on a charge of giving A-bomb secrets to Russia, and of Morton Sobell, sentenced to 30 years in jail for his part in the same "conspiracy."

A call for a "supreme effort"—with speed its essence—immediately went out from the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. The Rosenbergs' attorney, Emanuel H. Bloch Jr., said he would seek reconsideration by the high court and "take every other process known to law." If the court refuses to reverse itself, a new trial on the grounds of new evidence will be sought. A writ of habeas corpus may

also be applied for, charging illegal detention based upon perjured testimony at the trial and citing the hysteria that made a fair trial impossible.

THE PEOPLE MUST ACT: Speaking to and for the "thousands of Americans who have petitioned for a new trial" and "millions more who are shocked by the unprecedented death sentences," the committee pledged a

> **. . . continued effort to win a new trial for the Rosenbergs and Sobell. We will make every effort to save their lives against the moment when it becomes impossible to deny the justice of our claim that their trial was devoid of those guarantees of fairness which should be taken for granted in our courts. . . . What the Supreme Court has not done, the American people must do. A new trial must be won for the Rosenbergs and Sobell.**

Specifically the committee urged individuals, groups and organizations to write or wire the President for clemency and for government agreement to all steps that might be taken by the defense. Local groups were also asked to take advertising space in newspapers and seek radio time to bring the Rosenberg appeal to the greatest number of people. Delegations to Congressmen and to community leaders were also urged. Funds were asked to be sent to the committee's national offices at 1050 Sixth Ave., New York 18, N. Y.

"COLD-WAR VERDICT": Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President, called the Supreme Court's "evasion of its responsibility"

> **. . . a 1952 Sacco-Vanzetti decision . . . a cold-war verdict which sentences two Americans to death and one to 30 years imprisonment without even an opportunity for a high court review of the evidence on which they were convicted. . . . Millions of Americans, including myself, have the gravest doubts as to the sufficiency of evidence . . . and are convinced beyond a doubt that they were not the recipients of a fair trial guaranteed by the Constitution. . . . I call for action on the part of all Americans to demand justice in this case. There are ample reasons for a rehearing before the court, and I ask everyone to wire President Truman and Atty. Gen. McGranery demanding that they consent to such a rehearing that no irrevocable miscarriage of justice may occur.**

CALM IN DEATH HOUSE: The Rosenbergs, who have two sons, Michael 9, and Robbie, 5, have been in Sing Sing's death house for 18 months. They learned of the Supreme Court's decision when it was broadcast over the prison's radio network, took the news calmly and expressed faith that their innocence eventually will be affirmed. They were sentenced by U. S. Judge Irving R. Kaufman after a 15-day trial on April 5, 1951—the first time in U. S. history that death was decreed in such a case by a civil court in peace-time.

The testimony that convicted them came from Mrs. Rosenberg's brother, David Greenglass, who said he stole "secrets" while serving as a sergeant at the Los Alamos, N. M., A-bomb development from 1944 to 1946 and passed them to the Rosenbergs for transmission. He said he made a diagram of the bomb and wrote 12 pages of description from snatches of conversation he had overheard and from blueprints he had seen. Of a diagram he reconstructed for the court, **Scientific American** said it was "not much of a secret," the science editor of **Life** that it "appears illogical, if not downright unworkable"; **Time** said his testimony "made little scientific sense." Atomic scientist Dr. Harold C. Urey has pointed out:

> **"Detailed data on the atomic bomb would require eight to nine volumes of close print which only a scientist or engineer would be able to understand."**

TOO PROGRESSIVE: With no evidence to support the linking of the Rosenbergs with any "A-bomb spying," U. S. Atty. Irving Saypol—now a U. S. Judge—concentrated on the Rosenbergs' progressive background, citing their aid to Spanish refugees; Mrs. Rosenberg's signature on a 1941 election petition for the late Peter V. Cacchione (Communist candidate elected to the N. Y. City Council); their possession of an Intl. Workers Order insurance policy, and their union membership. In passing sentence, the judge blamed them for all U. S. casualties in Korea.

For his guilty plea and aid to the government, Greenglass got off with 15 years; his wife, Ruth, named as a co-conspirator, was never brought to trial. On Feb. 25 this year New York's Federal Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the convictions and sentences of the Rosenbergs and Sobell. Greenglass did not appeal his case.

"ALL-OUT DRIVE": A public rally for "Justice for the Rosenbergs" will be held in New York's Union Square on Oct. 29 from 4:30 to 7 p.m. On Sat., Oct. 18, a series of nine open-air meetings will be held in the Bronx beginning at 11 a.m. and ending at 5 p.m. Other meetings already scheduled include Brooklyn, Oct. 22; Manhattan, Oct. 23; Teaneck, N. J., Oct. 28; Cleveland, Nov.

(Continued on Page 3)

WE URGE ALL READERS TO ACT AT ONCE TO SAVE THE ROSENBERGS

AS IN THE CASE of the Trenton Six in 1948—in which NATIONAL GUARDIAN's contention of the innocence of six men sentenced to death for an alleged murder was eventually proved correct in a new trial—this newsweekly during the past two years has brought to public attention the background facts on the conviction of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. We are convinced that they are completely innocent of any of the charges lodged against them; no evidence was presented at their trial warranting any finding of guilt.

In order to win a jury verdict against them, both prosecution and court breached their constitutional rights continuously throughout the trial—apparently with no concern that any higher court might upset a verdict thus gained, because of the ruling atmosphere of war fear and anti-Soviet hysteria.

There can be no doubt that the Supreme Court of the United States has the duty to review this case in which, for the first time in our nation's history, the death sentence is fixed by civil authorities for conviction of espionage.

We most strongly urge immediate action by all our readers on the steps proposed elsewhere in this issue by the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. Above all, these two brave and precious lives must be preserved while the fight goes on to vindicate them.

—THE EDITORS

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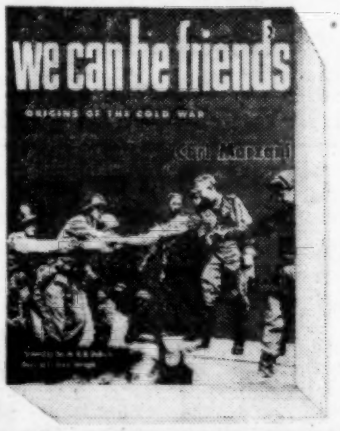

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REPORT TO READERS

Here's why we need your renewal NOW

A STORY LIKE THE ROSENBERG DECISION, coming right on our press deadline, has made it necessary for us to leave out the following stories from our limited eight pages:

- The only on-the-spot coverage in America of the Peking Peace Conference.
- A profile of Reuben Boruogh, California's Progressive candidate for U.S. Senate and the only opponent to Republican William Knowland, "the Senator from Formosa."
- An analysis of Adlai Stevenson's complete collapse on civil liberties, bowing low to the McCarran and Smith Acts and the FBI super-government.

THE GUARDIAN is bursting at the seams to include even a part of the vitally necessary facts and analysis you can find nowhere else, in this time of utmost crisis for our country. Next week we plan a 12-page issue to bring you these articles in addition to some other special political coverage.

But this means spending extra money which we frankly don't have—and won't have unless something we say or do here can bring in a real landslide of those overdue subscription renewals (indicated by your subscription address being printed in red ink on Page One).

TAKE A LOOK NOW, won't you, to see if you are one of those in arrears—and if so, let us have the $2 fast. And as for our new readers now receiving 3-month subs, why not sign up now for '53? We'll add on the rest of '52 for good measure.

The offer of Carl Marzani's splendid new book FREE in acknowledgement of your sub or contribution holds good through Oct. 31, but no longer. So act now—PLEASE. —THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

Are you me?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"With the change of a few words, Mr. Eisenhower could have made the speech made by Gov. Stevenson or Gov. Stevenson could have made Mr. Eisenhower's speech."—Wall St. Journal, 9/9.

"It would take a microscope to detect the differences between them."—Journal of Commerce, 9/19.

Said Tweedledum to Tweedledee,
Are you you or are you me?
In the campaign's unholy din,
Where do you end and I begin?
We both have the self-same aim—
Although we play a devious game.
You spout fine phrases by the score,
Peace, Liberation, Stop the War;
Stop the war (but not before
The enemy is on the floor) . . .
Funny thing, I must admit,
Those very words my speeches fit.
Too bad that only one is sent
To Washington as President—
But don't you worry—you or me—
We've both alike—that we agree.

Bill Silverman

No more, no less

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

What's all this talk about the lesser evil and the other evil? A vote for either Ike or Adlai is just plain evil. Enclosed is my check to help stamp it out. David Fogel

Sounds familiar

MEXICO CITY, MEXICO

We can't be without the GUARDIAN around election time. According to the commercial newspapers here you'd think there was no Progressive Party in the U. S. We share our paper with another North-American family, besides leaving it around and having other friends that drop in read it. So, it is well read. Ruth R. De Buen

New chef—new mop

MONTCLAIR, N. J.

No matter what the Republicans or Democrats add to the brew they are concocting and expect the people of the U.S. to swallow with their eyes shut . . . how can they help or expect to better conditions and help make this a better world, when the main simple ingredient, PEACE, is not put into the pot?

Regardless of I. F. Stone's way of thinking, I am casting my vote for a new chef and assistant—for clean new pots . . . and mops.

M. Baer Salov

Sparkman's mixture

DETROIT, MICH.

I think that Sept. 11 edition with Dr. DuBois' article was extremely factual and effective; The Story of the Negro Voter should be reprinted. Dr. DuBois has effectively answered the "Stevenson liberal" who clings to the witticisms of Adlai as though he were a god for liberals in this country. The very fact that the "liberal wing" was soundly thumped at the Democratic convention has been conveniently forgotten. All the liberals were then required to internally cleanse their bodies with a dose of Sparkman's Civil Rights Mixture. Then these liberals plead: "Don't throw out your vote with Hallinan."

A Teacher

How crazy can you get dept.

CHICAGO, June 13—The overweight evil among business executives is threatening destruction of the nation's productive capacity and free enterprise system, the American Medical Assn. convention was told Friday.

Dr. Harold A. Vonachen, medical director of the Caterpillar Traction Co., Peoria, Ill., said worry and tensions, combined with enormous responsibilities to workers and stockholders, are contributing to the killing fat seen today around the waistlines of too many members of management.

—Salt Lake Tribune, June 14.

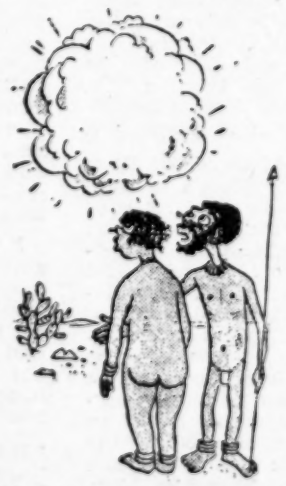
Free one-year sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Mrs. Marcus Pace, Salt Lake City.

About socialism

PASADENA, CALIF.

On the whole I think the GUARDIAN is a wonderful paper. But occasionally it takes an editorial policy appearing to endorse socialism. It seems to me that the GUARDIAN should stick to the Progressive Party position, giving facts about socialist movements but not being a socialist organ itself.

Peggy Carter



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

A-BOMB IN AUSTRALIA
"Better come away now, dear—you know how madly secretive primitive peoples always are about their tribal magic."

White chauvinism

VENICE, CALIF.

I hope Mrs. Robeson's splendidly uncompromising article on white chauvinism will not be misconstrued by any white readers anxious to find an authoritative pretext for "overlooking" their own white chauvinism. And I hope Negro readers will become even shorter and sharper with their white friends and acquaintances, not less so.

White chauvinism is not only a degrading and foul thing, which shames and corrupts every person who carries it. It is a major obstacle to the uniting of all Americans in the struggle for peace and freedom.

Mrs. Robeson and the Negro people in America generally are justifiably fed up with many of us white people who take up meetings with long and pious diatribes on white chauvinism instead of disposing of that subject efficiently and proceeding to take actions which will win jobs, homes, votes and respect for Negro Americans. The greatest manifestation of white chauvinism among white progressives is this business of talking big and doing little or nothing. Harper Poulson

You're it

CICERO, ILL.

TAG DAY (cancer, heart disease, T.B., etc.). First they worry and almost work you to death. Then they beg from you to put you on your feet again. J. S.

Why Kennan scrammed

LONDON, ENGLAND

A diplomat of such experience as Kennan must have known that to speak as he did in public about the country to which he was accredited simply is not done in diplomatic circles, and that the Soviet government would not overlook it.

Obviously he wanted to get himself removed; the question is, why? His whole reputation as the State Dept. "Russian expert" was built on the theme that Russians are so "ruthlessly exploited," etc., that if the regime is "contained" to stew in its own juice it will be destroyed by an uprising with the aid of provocative Voice of America broadcasts. But he has found that they are not exploited and his uprising will never come true; that they are outraged, rather than inspired with hope of "liberation," when they hear the Voice of America. This is why he found himself "friendless" and "isolated" in Moscow: he had isolated himself. He may speak perfect Russian but he and the Russian of today do not speak the same language.

To sustain his "expert on Russia" legend he had to get out quickly. He may congratulate himself on achieving that purpose, but the American people cannot congratulate themselves if they do not see through him now.

Edgar P. Young (Comdr. RN retd.)

The wrath of Heaven

LENNOX, CALIF.

At Richmond, Va., Ike said that if Thomas Jefferson were alive today, he would have been against the New Deal. Shortly thereafter the speaker's platform on which he stood collapsed.

Who says there isn't a God?

Ina Kleinerkeit

On apathy

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Know, acquiescing nodder
And docile, servile plodder,
That from you are harvested
Best crops of cannon fodder.

Sam Pavlovic

Time of Tiberius

JACKSON, MICH.

The following passage from the Annals of Tacitus, Bk. vi, Sect. vii, may interest other readers as much as it does me:

"Among the calamities of that black period [during the reign of Tiberius] the most trying grievance was the degenerate spirit, with which the first men in the Senate submitted to the drudgery of common informers; some without a blush, in the face of day; and others by clandestine artifices.

"The contagion was epidemic. Near relations, aliens in blood, friends and strangers, known and unknown, were, without distinction, all involved in one common danger. The fact recently committed, and the tale revived, were equally destructive. Words alone were sufficient, whether spoken in the forum, or amidst the pleasures of the table, was immaterial.

"Whatever the occasion or the subject, everything was a constructive crime. Informers struggled, as it were in a race, who should be first to ruin his man; some to secure themselves; the great part infected by the general corruption of the times." Robert Koelz

6 months before Hitler

CLEVELAND, O.

A couple of my friends who fought Hitler's brownshirts in the streets of Berlin with clubs and brass-knuckles, and escaped here at the last moment, tell me that fascist reaction is stronger here now than it was in Germany six months before Hitler came into official power.

Monopolies are the basis which sets up fascism, and monopoly has been the dominant influence in our government for some time. But American traditions make it very unwise to proceed in the same bloody manner Hitler did, so the iron fist wears a velvet glove while silencing the more aware opposition here. L. C. D.

And the moral?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I have lost respect for myself. I know the facts but haven't the courage to do anything about them. I realize that our present economic system is rotten to the core; that our current leaders are trying to involve us in a global war (that we, the people, do not want, and cannot win) to line the already fat pockets of big business, their sponsor.

I also realize that fine and decent people are in prison or have lost their means of livelihood for harboring thoughts which are contrary to the real enemies of the people. I understand how the Negro people are being exploited, humiliated and even murdered while our Republocrat politicians do nothing to alleviate the situation. It is obvious that the hopes of all people who desire a decent and peaceful life be with the Progressive Party.

Yes, I know the facts but thought control has also affected me. I'm an armchair progressive without the guts to work for peace and a better life instead of just talking about it. As you see, I haven't even the nerve to sign my name. D. B.

Peaceful powder

CHICAGO, ILL.

Here is a worthwhile excerpt from my civics book which was published in 1948. It is obvious from the content that the books in my school have not yet been "looked over":

"Practice the Good Neighbor Policy towards All Nations.—The only nation now strong enough to challenge us alone is Russia; and Russia needs peace to develop her resources, and raise its general standard of living. But just as a supposition, what should we do should Russia pool her great unused natural resources with the teeming millions of the Orient, or tie up with the German industrialists and well-trained mechanics and scientists?

"If for some reason our interests, or ideologies, or prejudices should conflict, would we be safe even if armed to the teeth? It is cheaper and safer to be friends of all nations. Let's keep our powder dry, but be a good neighbor."

Good idea, no? Joan Harelik

The gravest danger

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Military measures cannot resolve ideological issues. Having military-minded individuals seek peace is like calling undertakers to cure us when we all. Our own militarists constitute our gravest danger. They are as much our enemies as foreign despots could ever be. Instead of following them to disaster, we should commit them to institutions for the criminally insane.

The task of creating a warless world should be entrusted to pacifists. Any risk thus entailed appears negligible alongside our present gamble whose likeliest conclusion is universal chaos.

Samuel Michaelson

NATIONAL GUARDIAN the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-1750.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S and possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $2 a year. All other countries $3 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 5c. Re-entered as second class matter March 17, 1950 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, Editor — JOHN T. McMANUS, General Manager — JAMES ARONSON, Executive Editor

DEPARTMENTAL EDITORS: Tabitha Petran (War & Peace); Lawrence Emery (Farm, Peace, Freedom); Elmer Bendiner (Labor, Politics, Latin America). ART EDITOR: Robert Joyce. ADVERTISING: Robert E. Light. BUSINESS & PROMOTION: Leon Summit. SUBSCRIPTION & CIRCULATION: George Evans.

Vol. 4, No. 52 — 178 — OCTOBER 16, 1952

THE MAN STEVENSON DOESN'T KNOW

The McCarran plague spreads over America

By Lawrence Emery

IN 1949 Sen. Patrick Anthony McCarran, long-time spokesman for the old silver bloc, the biggest Western mining interests, Nevada gamblers, Chiang Kai-shek and Franco, took a stand:

"War is inevitable, and the sooner we get ready for it the better off we'll be."

Despite his age (he is now 76) he set about to get ready; in three years he has nudged the government closer to fascism than any other single man. His official probing groups—The Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, and The Subcommittee Investigating Subversive Infiltration of Radio, Television, and the Entertainment Industry—make the House Un-American Activities Committee seem like a pack of lap-dogs.

While Republican Sen. Joe McCarthy spreads terror with a loud voice, the Democrat McCarran, in relative quiet, straddles the land with laws to strangle every progressive force. He will be remembered in history as the man who brought the concentration camp to the U.S.—there are six now ready.

THE SOURCE OF POWER: McCarran's great power comes from his chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee and of an important Appropriations subcommittee. He holds these posts through seniority (he has been in the Senate since 1933, gets regularly re-elected with about 30,000 votes). Because he can block appointments and tie up funds, few Senators dare offend him; when he teams up with his cronies Chairman McKellar (defeated for renomination) of Appropriations and Chairman McClellan of Executive Expenditures, there is no more powerful group in Congress. McCarran once was called the second-worst Senator in a poll of Washington correspondents. Graham Dolan of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, who recently visited McCarran's home state of Nevada to write about him, said he

". . . has been called the most undesirable member of the Senate, one of the Senate's most expendable, the Senator from Madrid, a vindictive old man, the Senate voice of the Kennecott Copper Corp., and an autocrat. He has been labeled revengeful, petty, shrewd, dangerous, pompous, profascist, ruthless, power-grabbing, demagogic, vain, and anti-labor.

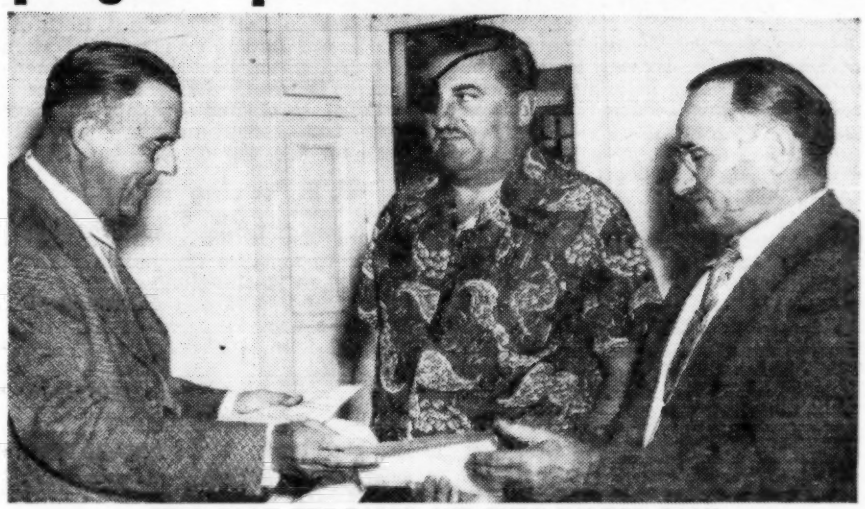
THE "SUBVERSIVES": Two of the most evil laws ever enacted in the U.S. bear the McCarran name: the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, both passed over Presidential veto. The first provides for concentration camps for suspected "subversives" in time of "emergency," and for registration of the Communist Party and other organizations as agents of a foreign power.

A five-member Subversive Activities Control Board set up under that act (each member's salary is $15,000) spent 14 months taking testimony on the Communist Party (15,000 pages and 527 exhibits). A government brief at the hearings' conclusion contended that U.S. Communists owe "first allegiance to . . . Stalin." The defense, headed by Vito Marcantonio and John Abt, charged that the government produced "not a scintilla of evidence of the existence of foreign control" and failed to show that the CP is not

". . . directed and controlled only by its own members, acting in democratic fashion, and that its objectives are to further and promote the best interests of the American people."

Testimony of 22 government witnesses, they charged, consisted of "inconsistencies, contradictions and outright perjury." A board ruling is now awaited, but it has been indicated that hearings on other organizations may be started even before.

THE IMMIGRANTS: The McCarran immigration law is now the subject of public hearings in 11 cities by a Presidential commission. Of 51 witnesses appearing in New York, only two favored the law as it stands; Sen. Lehman (D) denounced its "inequities and iniquities." In Boston Roman Catholic Archbishop Cushing called the law "un-Christian and un-American." In Chicago, 20 of 23 witnesses assailed the law; the commission's exec. director said he "found it difficult to find supporters of it to testify." The commission's report is to be given the President by Jan. 1, 1953; the law becomes effective Dec. 24, 1952.



THEY TOOK THE PAPER AND THEY TALKED BACK

Officers of the Mine, Mill union accept a subpena from a U.S. marshall. R: president John Clark; c: secy.-treas. Maurice Travis.

Under McCarran immigration and naturalization provisions already in effect, Charlie Chaplin has been threatened with banishment from this country, and Canada's 85-man Toronto Symphony Orchestra is being screened for "subversives" to assure U.S. appearances. Last year six members were refused visas and were dismissed; Canadian protests have been growing since.

NOBODY IS SAFE: Past performances of the McCarran probers include attacks on the Distributive, Processing & Office Workers Union; the Institute of Pacific Relations and two of its members, Owen Lattimore and Philip Jessup; progressive youth organizations (the committee found "subversives" are still trying to capture the Boy Scouts); a group comprising an actor, an actress, a humorist and a folk singer; the Radio Writers Guild.

In the radio "investigation" a key witness reported his testimony was distorted by the committee and that the record omitted his declaration that he

". . . could not say of my own knowledge that any member of the Radio Writers Guild was a Communist."

The committee frequently holds closed sessions at which testimony is supposed to be confidential, then makes it public, sending the printed record to the press.

THE TEACHERS: In September the committee undertook a probe of "Communist influence in education," set up shop in New York, called leaders of the independent Teachers Union. The timing was perfect: it was the opening day of school; departmental trials of eight teachers who had refused to answer questions about their politics were to start Oct. 1. The committee provided N.Y. school authorities with a short cut for dismissing "suspect" teachers; those who refused to answer key questions were accused of violating Sec. 103 of the City Charter providing automatic dismissal for municipal employes refusing to testify before an authorized body on grounds of possible self-incrimination. Three city college and six public school teachers were similarly fired; all had long and honorable records. At one point Sen. Ferguson (R-Mich.) said:

"This hearing has nothing to do with freedom of thought, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly."

Rose Russell, union spokesman, charged that

". . . students and teachers are even afraid to say they're for Stevenson, because the only people who feel safe today are those who share the views of Sen. McCarthy."

Her warning was borne out within the week: of 23 Columbia University professors who criticized the Richard Nixon fund, nine were publicly attacked; the N.Y. **Daily News**, largest U.S. newspaper, front-paged:

NINE NIXON CRITICS CITED AS PINKOS

Last week five more teachers were under subpena.

ROOM FOR EVERYBODY: Now the McCarran committee is out for bigger game: the entire trade union movement. It led off last week with a "probe" of Mine, Mill (100,000 members in nonferrous mining and related industries). Before the hearings a Mine, Mill delegation called on McCarran in Reno, asked why their union was being singled out; McCarran replied:

"Boys, don't get excited—they're all going to be before me before this is over!"

Although the union's central offices are in Denver, the hearing was held in Salt Lake City: Sen. Watkins (R-Utah), a committee member, is in a desperate battle for re-election. In addition, the union is in the midst of tough negotiations with the Kennecott Copper Corp. Kennecott locals charged the company's refusal to bargain was

". . . obviously based on the company hopes that Sen. McCarran's so-called hearings will weaken the bargaining position of the union."

WHAT COURT? Union secy.-treas. M. E. Travis said the committee is trying to lay a basis for

". . . a new piece of legislation having as its purpose further restriction of organized labor."

At Salt Lake McCarran rejected a petition signed by 6,000 union members asking that rank-and-file workers be heard, said in the hearing room he didn't "care about the Supreme Court," took a break to accept a medal from the fascist-minded American Coalition of Patriotic Societies. Mine-Mill officers described the hearings as a "nauseating spectacle," said they produced ample proof of the union's solidarity. McCarran couldn't get a single stool-pigeon from the membership.

West Coast unions announced a week ago they had learned that Nov. 16 has been set as the date for McCarran investigation of "Communist infiltration" of the maritime industry.

WHEN OLD FRIENDS MEET: Before Salt Lake, McCarran, addressing the American Mining Congress (biggest non-ferrous employers) in Denver, said:

"I feel the heartwarming pleasure of meeting once again with old friends, some of many years standing, recalling many intimate associations. . . ."

The presiding officer responded:

"Sen. McCarran, we salute you as the champion of the mining industry."

Between-times, McCarran has other objectives. One is to disrupt, if he can, the UN. On Oct. 13 in New York his committee opened an "investigation" of American UN employes.

The Senator from Nevada is extremely busy getting ready for the war he considers inevitable. But his party's nominee for President, Adlai Stevenson, whom McCarran is supporting, seems never to have heard of him. The **Wall St. Journal** (Sept. 16) reported that when Stevenson was asked if he would speak favorably of McCarran, he

. . . begged off saying he had never met the Senator and didn't know his views too well.

Rosenberg defense charts next step

(Continued from Page 1)

8; the Bronx, Nov. 19. Others are to be announced.

William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, called for the "most militant form" of protests:

The Rosenbergs must not die. It is a matter of concern to every progressive individual in America. Upon this decision rests the fate of every fighter for peace. This is, moreover, a matter of concern to every progressive individual in the world, for should this man and woman go to their death, reaction in America will confront every protestant against its program of war with the threat of "treason" charges and death.

Delegations must appear before the Natl. Committees of the major parties. Delegations, phone calls, telegrams, must be sent to discuss the question of their freedom to the President. . . . There is not a moment for delay. The Rosenbergs can be executed in a period of 30 days. An all-all drive for their freedom is necessary.

HELEN SOBELL & ROSALEE McGEE

The wife of Morton Sobell with the wife of an earlier victim, Willie McGee.

American justice

	Sentenced to:
HARRY GOLD, confessed "Soviet spy":	30 years (eligible for parole after 10 years)
DAVID GREENGLASS, confessed "Soviet spy":	15 years
RUTH GREENGLASS, confessed "Soviet spy":	Never indicted
DR. KLAUS FUCHS, convicted after confession in England:	14 years
DR. RAYMOND BOYER, convicted after confession in Canada:	2 years
ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG, convicted on unsupported evidence of Gold and Greenglasses; consistently maintained total innocence:	DEATH

BEHIND THE GET-OUT-THE-VOTE DRIVE

The Bi-partisans seek a 'mandate' for war

By Tabitha Petran

WHILE the press pondered last weekend whether record election registrations in many areas favored Republicans or Democrats, many citizens sought the meaning of big business' mighty drive to get out the vote. The **Wall St. Journal** (10/9) said that under 2,000 business concerns conducted registration drives in 1944; 20,000 did so this year, sparked by the Advertising Council representing the nation's biggest corporations. The Republicans having done well only in off-years ('42, '46, '50) when the vote was low, their backers'

Atlanta Journal

The No. 1 disaster area

solicitude for the forms of democracy is normally small. A Non-Partisan Get Out The Vote Committee launched by industrialist Henry J. Kaiser in '44 failed to win big-business response.

The current drive underlines the old parties' basic identity and betrays its aim: a big vote is to be interpreted as a popular mandate for Washington's war policy—whichever party wins. Neither party offers an alternative to war; the vote therefore becomes a U.S. version of the "Ja" elections in Hitler's Germany. The bigger the vote, the greater Washington can make the "popular mandate" appear.

PEACE BLACKED OUT: The Get-Out-the-Vote drive has a reverse side: the blackout of the only party with a peace program. The Progressive Party, target of intensive red-baiting in 1948, has suffered relatively little in 1952 when red-baiting has become the national pastime. Instead there is silence—a concerted policy to keep voters from even knowing there is a peaceful alternative to vote for.

The blackout is necessary because peace is the chief issue for most Americans (GUARDIAN, 10/2, 10/9). The unusually high percentage of voters still "undecided" reflects widespread frustration. Samuel Lubell in his Scripps-Howard national survey reported (N.Y. **World Telegram,** 10/8) that the phrase he most often heard from voters was, "he's a military man"—and described voter confusion:

> . . . To some persons the phrase conjures up the frightening shadow of war, to others it holds out the cheering promise of peace. . . . As far as I can judge both feelings seem almost equally strong with the fear of war holding a small edge.

The **WSJ** (10/10) reported:

> . . . Popular cynicism seems to some at an all-time high. . . . Typical comment from a Chicago bus driver: "It doesn't matter which party wins—they're all alike."

THE UNHOLY CRUSADE: Cynicism and frustration are breeding impatience. "Many people," writes Lubell, "share the feeling" of a Cincinnati mother who said: "If it's war, let's get it over with." The McCarthy-MacArthur line, promising a quick victory, is being pushed by the fear- and hate-inciting talk of both the Eisenhower and Stevenson campaign forces. U.S. **News** (10/10) reported Eisenhower "is impressed" with MacArthur's views on Asia. Thomas L. Stokes (**NYWT,** 10/10) found in "the tone and content" of Eisenhower's recent speeches

> . . . the sinister implication of a "holy crusade" which in our country would be nothing but unholy.

The Administration, breaking off Korean truce talks just when the other side had accepted one of the U.S. proposals for prisoner exchange, is putting the MacArthur program into action. Stevenson and Acheson are preaching the same "holy crusade," strengthening McCarthyism by accepting its premises. Some liberals support Stevenson because he will "slow the drive to war and fascism." But far from opposing McCarthyism, it is the Stevenson-Acheson-Truman line to suckle it. Both old parties are stirring up mass frustration into an irrational force with a momentum of its own, which can produce a national witch-hunt—whichever party wins—and constitute the "popular" basis for the war drive.

U. S. 'facing disaster'

Just as popular disgust with the Korean War is intensifying old-party efforts to mobilize the people for war at home, so Washington's growing difficulties abroad are accelerating the march to war.

Daily News, Los Angeles

The bankruptcy of Washington's policy is now widely acknowledged. William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard "foreign editor emeritus," in five open letters to the President-to-be (**NYWT,** 10/7-11) wrote:

> The U.S. is facing disaster in its European policy. . . . We are banking on forces which do not exist and ignoring—or underestimating—forces which do exist and work against us. . . . [W. Europe's 270 million inhabitants] unhappily . . . are encumbered with conflicting emotions, none of which are warlike.

Acknowledging that U.S. foreign policy has reached a dead end, Walter Lippmann (9/16) revealed Washington's sharpening fear of the socialist world's stability when he approved (9/11) Dulles' "liberation" policy as "addressed to a true estimate of our situation in the world": "containment" is not enough since the "Soviet orbit . . . will dominate the Eurasian continent if it is developed and consolidated." In two columns on Stalin's economic theses (10/6-7), Lippmann argued desperately:

> . . . It would surely be a great error to suppose that . . . the Soviet government is intending to negotiate a general settlement with the West and to try out a policy of collaboration. [The U.S. must continue to prepare for hot war and] also for a much colder war.

PEACE DANGER: General U.S. reactions to Stalin's theses showed that Washington's fear is not of a Soviet attack but of Soviet peace policy. The press conceded Soviet policy "excludes any major war in the proximate future" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 10/9). Britain's Royal Inst. of Intl. Affairs, in a report on NATO, agreed that the U.S.S.R. uses not military "but political and economic means" to advance its goals and its present goal is less to increase its sphere of influence than

> . . . to prevent establishment of American power or that of the allies of the U.S. (NYT, 10/7).

But NATO commander Ridgway, voicing the official Washington line, insisted that "NATO nations still stand in peril." Walter Millis (**NYHT,** 10/8) explained:

> American authorities have been worried for some time lest the growing European conviction (no doubt well founded) that the Russians do not intend to start a major war should undermine and possibly destroy the great coalition. . . . Surely it was that danger . . . about which Gen. Ridgway was talking.

Stalin's analysis of the sharpening battle among capitalist powers for shrinking markets—documented in UN reports and daily in the Western press—exposed even more clearly U.S. bankruptcy. Said the N.Y. **Post** (10/8):

> Western diplomats do not laugh off Stalin's prediction of growing conflict in the capitalist sphere of the economy.

'The gravest crisis'

Simms (**NYWT,** 10/7) warned that the capitalist world faces "the gravest economic crisis since the war." The crisis of Britain and W. Europe has grown since the end of World War II when—with an industrial plant and technology which were obsolete even before World War II—this area embarked, under U.S. lead, on an ever-expanding arms program instead of needed large-scale modernization.

Today armaments eat up over 20% of France's national income, about 20% of Britain's, 15% of Belgium's, 10% of Italy's. British capital investments 1946-50 were only ⅔ of what would have been necessary to maintain the pre-war

(Continued on Page 5)

AFRICA

Whites close ranks; 'civil war' seen

LAST June Africans, Indians and "Coloureds" in S. Africa called for 10,000 volunteers by year's end to defy jimcrow laws intensified by Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan. By last month nearly 5,000 passive resisters had been arrested including top African and Indian leaders Moroka and Dadoo. One jail alone, in Port Elizabeth, held 1,000; its capacity is 600. The Johannesburg **Star** (quoted in N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 9/3) said: "The abyss of a great racial struggle yawns before us." London's **New Statesman & Nation** (9/27) saw S. Africa "marching rapidly along the road to civil war."

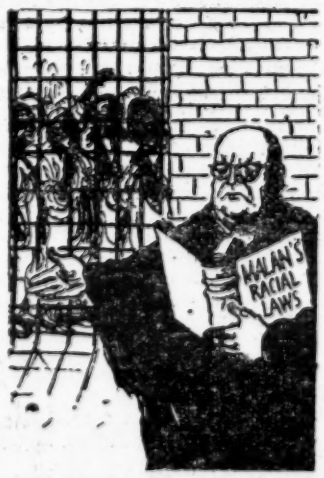
Three weeks ago police charged into a crowd of 300 Africans outside Queenstown magistrate's court, beat them up and kicked many as they lay on the road. Resistance so far has been strictly individual and non-violent, but the **Wall St. Journal** correspondent wrote (9/30) that the next act might involve

> . . . mass defiance of the racial laws and may take the form of a general strike. . . . Negro leaders are now wondering whether they will be able to keep their followers under control.

A CHANT OF "AFRICA": As Malan's government began resorting to unprovoked violence, it was calling with apparent success on all white groups to "close ranks" for "the principle of white supremacy." Leaders of both the opposition United Party and the white Torch Commando, which has opposed Premier Malan on constitutional issues, condemned the civil disobedience campaign. As the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reported from Johannesburg (9/3):

> The spectacle of disciplined bands of Africans and Indians peacefully defying South Africa's color laws with a chant of "Africa" on their lips has made a lot of people in both white parties nervous.

That the developments in S. Africa had "more than moral ramifications for America" was noted by WSJ's correspondent (9/30):



News Chronicle, London

"Our policy is succeeding, the colored population is being segregated."

> The U.S. got over $137 million in industrial diamonds, wool, chrome, manganese and other goods from there last year; and in a few months S. Africa is to begin shipping [us] uranium. . . . Many U.S. companies have big investment stakes in that country—among them Kennecott Copper Corp., Standard Vacuum Oil Co., Ford and General Motors.

STRANGE MISSION: Britain's Trade Union Congress last month unanimously condemned Malan's policies as a violation of human rights. In the U.S., the Council on African Affairs led by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson and Alphaeus Hunton sent $900, mainly raised in dimes and quarters, to aid the resistance. In S. Africa itself, a call for repeal of jimcrow laws and the Suppression of Communism Act came from 22 prominent white citizens including Margaret Ballinger, leader of white MP's representing Africans, and Alan Paton, author of "Cry the Beloved Country."

Meanwhile Dr. Max Yergan, one-time YMCA director in S. Africa and in the '30's active in the U.S. progressive movement, returned to the U.S. from what the progressive Negro monthly **Freedom** (Oct.) called an "Uncle Tom mission in Africa" in which he managed to stay "in Johannesburg's swank Carlton Hotel ('reserved for European only')."

THEY FIGHT WHAT THEY SEE: Reportedly traveling on the Ford Foundation payroll as "Adviser on African Affairs to American Foundations," Yergan warned Africans to "beware of communism." **Freedom** quoted Nelson Madela, Volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Movement and pres. of the African Natl. Congress Youth League:

> "I was struck by the fact that Mr. Yergan made no attempt to meet the non-European leaders. . . . All his impressions were second hand or gleaned from newspapers. . . . He said not a word of condemnation of the Malan government's racial policies. . . . His warnings to us . . . sounded like the warnings of a U.S. government spokesman. . . ."

In Lagos, Nigeria, Yergan had lectured under U.S. Information Service sponsorship; no African organizations sponsored him. Commented Nigeria's leading African-owned paper, **W. African Pilot:**

> Any honest inquirer after truth, pondering over the admonitions of Dr. Yergan . . . will only surmise: "We have heard this before." . . . When he extols the jewels of democracy, we peep across his shoulder and remind him of the "folks down South." . . . For our part, what we have neither known nor experienced does not terrify us. Daily we grapple with the forces of imperialism projected by the democracies who condemn Communism ever so much.

Korea: 27 months of war; 15 months of truce talks

U.S. Forces	Casualties	Dead
Reported as of July 11, 1951 (truce talks began)	78,626	13,176
Reported last week (as of Oct. 3)	120,269	21,062
Increase since talks began	41,643	7,886
Increase during last week's talks	890	147

Casualties seem established at about 30,000 American youths a year. . . . War, while limited, serves as training for men, testing for weapons. U.S. youths will go on doing most of the fighting.

—U.S. News, Sept. 19.

(Continued from Page 4)

technical level, and since were cut still further.

'Blow-up' in France

In France since the Schuman Plan geared its backward industry to war, consumer industry is more and more depressed. Paris' demand for $650 million in U.S. military contracts in the next three years reveals its heavy industry dependent on U.S. orders. U.S. rejection of this demand last week (it promised $526 million), accompanied by a memorandum telling France to increase its military budget and laying down new and tougher rules for U.S. aid (**NYHT,** 10/11), produced the "worst diplomatic blow-up between the two countries since the war" (**Reuters,** 10/9).

Premier Pinay called the note "inadmissible interference"; he could do no less to prevent the fall of his already shaky government. His show of resistance also may have saved, for the moment, Foreign Minister Schuman, under heavy attack from Left, Right and even Center for his "sacrifice of French interests in his German policy" (**NYT,** 10/12).

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Shh! Premier Pinay is studying ceiling prices."

BACK TO 1913: The national character of the opposition was shown last month when former Premier Daladier called for withdrawal from Indo-China, opposition to German rearmament, four-power talks with Moscow. A substantial section of French heavy industry opposes present policy because the Schuman Pool makes France a junior partner to Germany; and the U.S.-backed W. German effort to sever France's economic ties with the Saar could wreck the whole European army scheme. U.S. officials are already telling Paris (**NYHT,** 10/12)

> . . .that French failure to ratify the [European Army] treaty would compel the U.S. to seek a separate arrangement for bringing Germany into NATO or into some sort of alliance with the U.S.

The magazine **UN World** (Sept.) reported:

> Today we are facing a situation where mutual suspicions and recriminations between France and Germany have become almost as acrimonious as they were in 1913, the year before the outbreak of World War I. The tide of feeling against the revival of a German military machine is swelling precipitously across France.

The pro-U.S., pro-Vatican, pro-German forces which Schuman is considered to represent moved again this month to try to crush the still-powerful Left. Raids on "Communist front" groups and arrests of labor leaders betrayed the fear that the Communist call for a "national front," based on opposition to German rearmament and French independence from the U.S., could make such headway as to upset the political situation in France.

Britain: 'chronic' bankrupt

Obsolescence and antagonism of industry, and arms economies, have produced chronic deficits in W. European trade and payments balances—aggravated by the trade embargo against the socialist world and tremendous expansion of U.S. exports (now five times pre-war). Now German and Japanese goods are pouring into the traditional markets of France, Italy, Benelux, and especially Britain.

For Britain this chronic deficit threatens its role as banker for—and the whole existence of—the sterling area. **Lloyd's Bank Review** (1/52) said:

> If the banker at the center of the area proves by his performance that he is chronically unable to live within his means, that the standard of living on which he insists can be maintained only by the help of credit or other "assistance" from abroad, he will very soon cease to be a banker. With this linch-pin removed, the sterling system would then fall apart, with disaster to the banker, his depositors and indeed to the whole world.

TOTTERING EMPIRE: A Commonwealth Conference in November will plan steps to achieve convertibility of sterling—a major U.S. goal, since it would let U.S. investors take profits out of the Empire in dollars and remove barriers to U.S. invasion of British markets. Australia and Canada will spearhead the drive to force limited convertibility (they want U.S. $ investments for internal development), and are already talking (**Journal of Commerce,** 9/15)

> . . . of independent action after the conference if the UK cannot be persuaded to embrace a vigorous program of a sort that will permit convertibility before very much more time has passed.

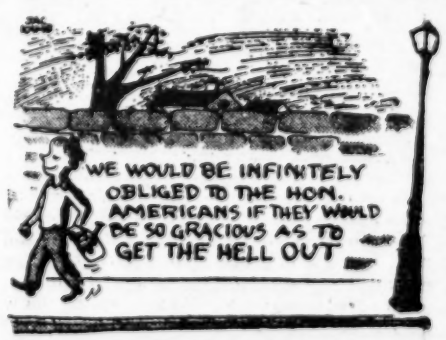
The program involves "decreasing internal consumptions," "a strong wage control policy," strict curbs on inflation to insure greatly expanded British exports at competitive prices—the basis for convertibility (**J of C,** 10/8).

OPPOSITION GROWS: This is the carrot-and-club Washington is using to keep Britain in line. But even U.S. financial journal's question whether Churchill, with "such a slim majority," can impose a program so drastically cutting already low living standards. An attempt to do it could so strengthen the opposition as to bring a real change in government and policy.

If Britain does not adopt the program, and the U.S., Canada, and Australia begin the breakup of the sterling bloc, the results will again inevitably strengthen already mounting opposition and point to a real policy change.

Militarization imposed on W. Europe's sick economies is impoverishing the peoples, running counter to national interests, creating within each country the opposition which can change existing policy. Stalin's analysis of the sharpening struggle among capitalist powers, leading them "to try to break out from American slavery and set forth on a path of independent development," scarcely outruns events.

THE LINE OF PEACE: All signs indicate Washington intends to expand the war in Asia as a means of meeting the crisis of its policies at home and abroad. Its UN propaganda offensive is already under way: Acheson will reportedly present a virtual ultimatum



Regards, Paris

demanding "tougher tactics" to the General Assembly.

The American people can still stop Washington's move to war. They can register their clear-cut opposition with a vote on the Progressive Party line.

The blackout of the PP means the people's desire for peace will not be substantially measured at the polls. This makes all the more essential that those who know of the PP's existence vote for it—to keep intact the only organized peace party, prepared to fight against war not only before the elections but beyond in the witch-hunt America of Eisenhower and Stevenson.

THE NEGROES AND THE ELECTION—II

The press, the polls and the promises

By Eugene Gordon

THE dilemma found in Harlem's homes and shops, described in last week's GUARDIAN, is reflected in Negro newspapers throughout the country.

Both the Republicans and Democrats court the votes of Negroes—Northern and Southern. Their platforms were designed to look good from both sides of the fence—a difficult writing job, "for the party that bids too high for the support of the white South is likely to alienate the Negro and vice versa" (**The Nation,** 9/27.)

Author Lloyd Brown (**Iron City**) told the GUARDIAN last week that what makes the elephant as big an ass as his rival is that both

> ". . . seem to think in terms of white voters, have in fact been bidding for the support of the white South."

They overlook the 2,000,000 potential Negro ballots in the South and risk the support of Northern Negroes for whom

> ". . . the term civil rights means in essence, full equality for the Negro in America."

And for Negroes the deadline for civil rights in America is now.

TUMBLE ARTISTS: The election year courtship of Negro voters has produced many somersaults by both candidates. Each has unearthed so much authentic evidence of jimcrow in the other's camp that it is safe to say a good many Negroes would this year reject both big parties—if a third party could make itself known.

Last week N.Y. State GOP Gov. Dewey on a national radio and TV program held aloft an Alabama ballot. Electors for Gov. Stevenson and Sen. Sparkman there are to be inscribed under the state's regular Democratic Party symbol: a rooster with the slogan "White Supremacy." Dewey said:

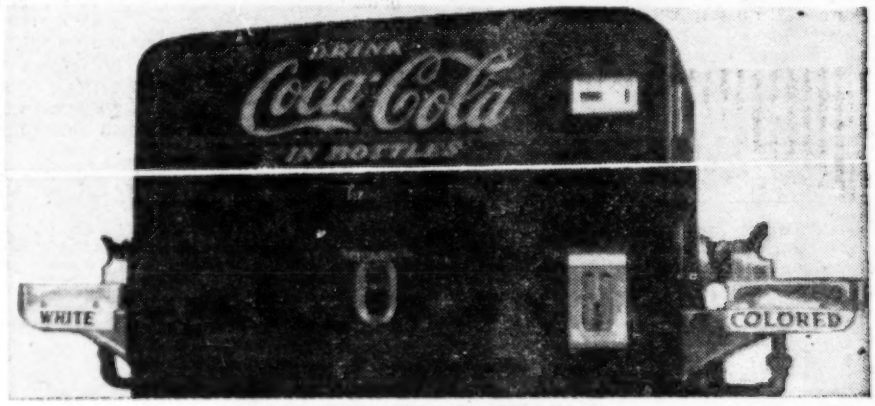
> "White supremacy is the battle cry of the Ku Klux Klan . . . of the hate mongers and the fascists . . . of those who would suppress the rights of all minorities."

Sparkman answered:

> "That is not an issue in this campaign and shows how far some little people will stoop in trying to becloud the issue . . . Jimcrow tickets—I don't know what he means. I was elected on the regular ticket in Alabama and Gov. Dewey can describe it any way he wants to."

PEOPLE WHO LIVE . . .: Sparkman was off base; for Negroes jimcrow is decidedly the issue. But the GOP ticket was no less flagrant: the Democrats have raised (in Northern campaigns) Eisenhower's support of segregation in the army; Sen. Nixon's signing of a restrictive covenant when he bought his Washington, D.C., house; and Eisenhower's former part-ownership of a Howard Johnson restaurant "for whites only."

Eisenhower tried last week to take the edge off his support of army jimcrow by repeating a promise to end racial segregation in the District of Columbia and throughout govt. civil and military operations. Nixon's restrictive covenant was taken up by the Pittsburgh **Courier,** which drew up an "hypocrisy list" of those who signed similar racist guarantees after the Supreme Court ruled against them. Listed in addition to Nixon are: Sparkman, Kefauver, Sen. Moody (D-Mich.), Sen. Walker (R-Idaho), Sen. Kilgore (D-W. Va.), Sen. Lister Hill (D-Ala.).



IT SQUIRTS OUT ON THE BIAS
A Coca-Cola machine at an Alabama gas station

Caught in the dilemma, this is the way some Negro opinion-makers are talking: Dr. Channing Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN Assembly in Paris, told the Natl. Urban League's last conference that both the Democratic and GOP platforms were

> ". . . eloquently stated general principles, carefully planned omissions and skillfully devised evasions, all woven together with such ambiguity as to mean all things to all men."

SUPPORT STEVENSON: The Pittsburgh **Courier**'s executive editor P. L. Prattis said Tobias had given

> ". . . a sense of direction to others to speak for and to Negroes in these troublous times.

Bishop D. Ward Nichols, presiding at the Educational Chautauqua of the 1st Episcopal Dist. AME Church last week, indicated he would urge a GOP vote as he could not swallow Sparkman:

> "I saw first-hand the things he represented and know the racial tyranny that exists in Alabama under the political machine which directs men of his calibre."

The Baltimore **Afro-American** came out last week for Stevenson; its two-column editorial ignored Sparkman. (In New Orleans last week, where Stevenson said he stood firmly on his party's civil rights plank, three Negro reporters representing the **Afro-American, Jet, Ebony** and the Chicago **Defender** were denied accomodation at the lily-white Roosevelt Hotel booked for his press retinue. Campaign aides said Stevenson knew nothing about the arrangements.)

Our World (300,000 circ.) said:

> We support Gov. Adlai Stevenson—and we believe you will too—because the Democratic platform of 1952 is pledged unequivocally to continue this program of civil rights; because Stevenson has made a solemn promise to keep his party's pledge.

Our World did not explain how Gov. Stevenson could do that while keeping an implied pledge to a Richmond, Va., audience, to remain faithful to Dixie:

> "Among the most valuable heritages of the Old South is its political genius. . . . A classic example, it seems to me, is the Constitution of the Confederacy. . . . Many of your states are among the best governed in the land."

PP IN THE POLL: In the same speech Stevenson classed "anti-Negroism" with "anti-Southernism," praised **Gone With the Wind,** condemned the short Reconstruction era when Negroes had political rights in the South, blamed the South's poor whites for the crimes of jimcrow.

The magazine **Ebony** seconded **Our World**'s support for Stevenson.

Though most of the Negro press blots out almost all mention of the Progressive Party's Vincent Hallinan and Charlotta Bass, the **Afro-American Weekly** Presidential poll gives the PP ticket equal billing with the others, cites the PP as putting up a "colored Veep" candidate.

Ralph Matthews, columnist for the **Afro-American** chain of weeklies, spoke for many of us when he said that the Negro people are "tired of being a political football."

They're boxed in and looking for a way out.

THE WORLD

Communists accept part of POW offer

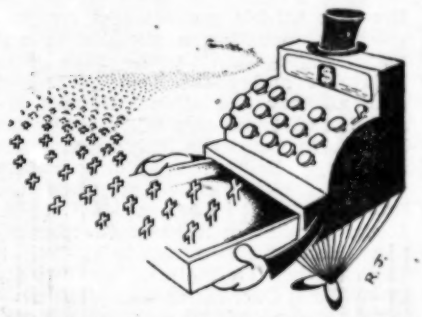
KOREA truce talks were recessed "indefinitely" by the U.S. last week as Secy. Acheson continued to insist Washington would not budge from "the principle" of breaking its Geneva Convention pledge on return of all war prisoners. Peking radio said the Chinese and N. Koreans had accepted the U.S. proposal for bringing all POW's to a neutral zone, with the proviso that

> . . . Red Cross teams of both sides would explain to all prisoners that they were not to take up arms again in the Korean conflict.

Reported by **AP**, this development won inside-page mention in the **N.Y. Times** (10/10) but was generally blacked out. Meanwhile, with POW's the "single issue standing between the negotiators and full agreement" according to the State Dept. (10/10), UN casualties recorded the second highest increase this year: 4,214 U.S. soldiers had died over the POW issue alone. Allied restlessness grew; London's **Daily Express** commented (10/2):

> What is a Communist turncoat worth? Is he to be valued more highly than one of our own fighting men? . . . While the truce talks drag on 12,000 UN men—the [British] Gloucesters among them—rot in Chinese prison camps.

In his home-town paper, the Whitley **Seaside Chronicle**, John Carr, on leave after 16 months' service, said British troops were "absolutely fed up with the endless war."



HE DIED: In S. Korea, reported **ONA**'s Julia Edwards (10/7), corruption and inflation were raging uncontrolled; food prices had risen over 50 times since 1947; 10 million people—half the population—are "on relief" but half of these are not getting any:

> S. Korea is inching closer to . . . complete economic breakdown in spite of the fact that production is increasing, relief supplies are pouring in and the front line remains stable. . . ."If there ever was an honest man in the [South] Korean government, he died of starvation," commented one American official.

Drew Pearson reported (10/4) that the Defense Dept. had discussed blockading the Chinese coast and the Navy was all set to do so but was prevented by opposition of U.S. allies in Korea. The U.S. Navy has barred all but U.S. correspondents from its warships in Korean waters (**ONA**, 10/3).

Hot and cold wars

IRAN: With British-Iranian oil negotiations in an impasse, U.S. tankers were reported en route to Iran to pick up oil. Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. warned—as it did after U.S. oilman W. Alton Jones' recent visit to Iran—it would take legal steps against anyone trying to sell Iranian oil, which it regards as its property pending a settlement.

SOVIET UNION: There was news once again of a U.S. flight across Soviet frontiers: a B-29 Superfort carrying a crew of eight was reported to have disappeared between the northern tip of Japan and Yuri in the Kurile Islands (ceded to the U.S.S.R. under agreement after the war). The same **AP** report from Tokyo (10/9) described the flight as "routine" and quoted Japanese police as saying the plane fell "apparently in a Soviet-controlled area." In a formal protest against the "frontier violation" Moscow said Soviet fighters had called on the plane to follow them and land at the nearest airdrome; the plane fired on them; the fighters returned the fire, and the B-29 "departed in the direction of the sea."

GERMANY: London's **Daily Express** reported (10/3) that the U.S., dissatisfied with British delay in returning to W. Germany secret military-political archives captured in 1945, was sending a delegation to Whitehall to get these archives which "would 'blueprint' the beginning of a new German war machine."

In Berlin, German nuclear physicist Heisenberg said the West had agreed to allow Germany to mine uranium and build an atomic pile.

Socialist Minister-President Zinn of Hesse "told a startled legislature" (**NYT**, 10/2) that a U.S.-sponsored and financed

> . . . secret German sabotage group trained to go into action should the Russians overrun Germany . . . was ordered disbanded after it had earmarked for removal . . . prominent Socialists whom it considered "undesirable politically" in the event of Russian occupation.

GREECE: Athens newspapers charged U.S. Ambassador Peurifoy with "attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece" (**AP**, 10/7). While Peurifoy said U.S. aid had enabled Greece to raise "a very fine army," popular discontent with tax, housing and other discrimination in favor of the wealthy forced King Paul to dissolve parliament, call a general election next month.

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

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SCOTT NEARING, economist, lecturer and author, Fri., Oct. 24, 8:15 p.m. "The Struggle for the Presidency"; also Sun., Oct. 26, 8:15 p.m. "To Much Politics." Both lectures at Brevoort Hotel, 120 W. Madison. Admission: 74c. Auspices: Swedish Educational League.

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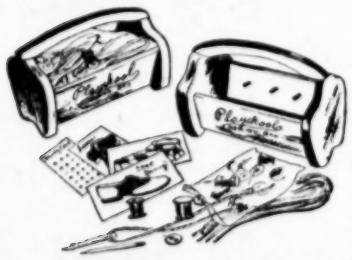

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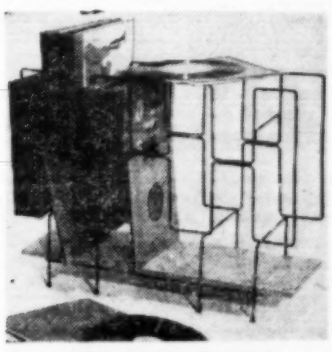

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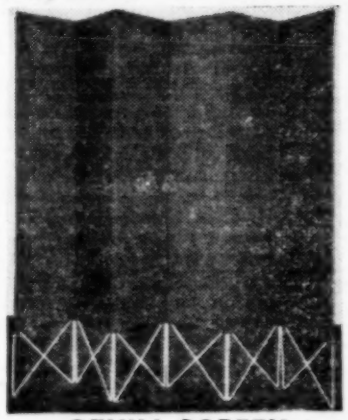

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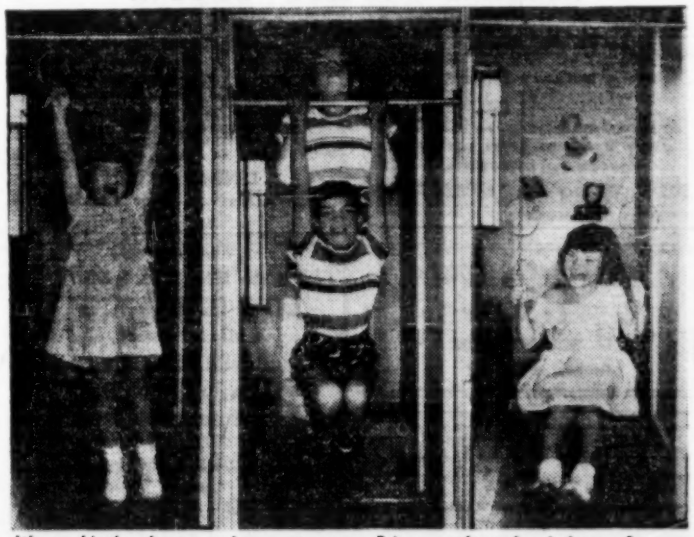

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THE DIVISION: OPPRESSOR VS. OPPRESSED

The 7th UN Assembly opens

Guardian UN correspondence
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

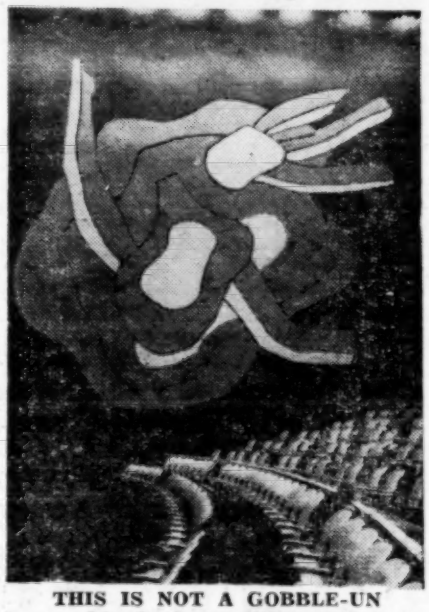
AS the Seventh UN General Assembly opened Oct. 14 in its brand new Assembly Hall on the East River, many of its 1,000 delegates and officials hoped the speeches would be in better taste than the place where they will be made. The new hall, with domed walls of gilded slats and two garish murals by the French abstract painter, Fernand Leger, seems a place for nightmares, not international diplomacy.

(The setting was already nightmarish enough: representatives of "two worlds" sat down together as Sen. McCarran's witch-hunters began hearings nearby on "communist activities in the UN." Secy. Lie approved in advance of action being taken against UN employes of questionable "loyalty" to one member of the world organization.)

The Assembly agenda is more familiar. Many of its 70-odd items have been on it since time immemorial and deal with routine matters, such as the examination of annual reports issued by the various UN Councils.

But Korea holds the spotlight. Secy. of State Acheson, who has asked to speak first in general debate, "is expected to threaten the Communists with further action" (N.Y. Times, 10/13), but debate probably will not come until after the U.S. elections. The British and French foreign ministers will not arrive until then. But the 90-strong Soviet delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Vishinsky and including such UN experts as Andrei Gromyko, Jacob Malik and Valerian Zorin, arrived this week and were reported prepared to push for an overall settlement.

THE THIRD GROUP: Most noteworthy feature of this Assembly is that for the first time there are three organized groups instead of two: (1) the U.S. and its allies; (2) the U.S.S.R. and its allies; (3) the Arab-Asian group, formed in 1950, early in the Fifth Assembly, when it tried to prevent the U.S. from crossing the 38th Parallel in Korea.



THIS IS NOT A GOBBLE-UN
It's the Leger UN mural

The group, led by no one country, has grown from a loose association of some 13 nations (Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, India, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Burma, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, sometimes the Philippines) into an organized working team. It held several caucuses before the opening of this Assembly to map strategy and tactics on many issues—especially colonial ones.

The group matured when the questions of Morocco and Tunisia came up in last year's Assembly in Paris. Western pressure kept the questions off the agenda then, but they were brought up in the Security Council in April. There they got an airing—thanks to the speeches of the Pakistan delegate — although kept off the agenda by France and Britain, backed by the U.S. and others in abstention.

WESTERN WORRIES: The Arab-Asian group then tried to get the necessary votes of two-thirds of UN members for a special assembly on Morocco and Tunisia. It failed, but got promises from many delegations that the questions would be put on this Assembly's agenda.

The Arab-Asian determination to fight colonialism is creating many problems within the Western bloc. France has announced its violent opposition to any discussion of North African questions; it is incensed at Washington's advice for superficial concessions and agreement to debate. The strategy is to bury the issue later by asking for an Intl. Court of Justice ruling on whether the Morocco and Tunisia questions are "purely domestic"—outside UN jurisdiction—or international.

THE DILEMMA: If the U.S. should support the Arab-Asian group, France —a NATO ally already in trouble at home for servility to the U.S.—might face a government crisis. If the U.S. supports France, its pretensions about the "free world" will be more nakedly exposed, its efforts undermined to buy allies in the East with dollars, technical assistance and slick talk.

The same dilemma is posed by the question of Premier Malan's racist policies in S. Africa, which the Arab-Asian group calls a threat to world peace and security. The British are caught between supporting S. Africa or other Commonwealth members such as India and Pakistan. The West may try to bury this question too by a proposal to consult the Intl. Court.

The Arab-Asian group is prepared to fight such maneuvers, however. It looks for support to some in the Latin American bloc (20 votes) who disapprove Malan's policies; to others who disapprove of French conduct in N. Africa, and to East Europe (five votes).

THE REAL DIVISION: These issues will dramatize the new alignment in the Seventh Assembly. It will demonstrate that the world is divided not between capitalist and socialist nations, but between a group of exploiting nations and nations in upheaval. These upheavals may be socialist in structure or nationalist but they are directed against the capitalist West—not the U.S.S.R. For the first time the public may become aware that W. European imperialist countries and their sponsor, the U.S., are really oppressing masses of people.

The U.S. may have to reorient its strategy and tactics; it certainly will have difficulty in commanding the "overwhelming majority" of the good old days. It will have to explain to the colonial peoples why it votes against them or abstains whenever their fight for emancipation is involved.

THE "MODERATOR": Foreseeing such dilemmas, U.S. delegate Ernest Gross told UN correspondents that the colonial issue would be one of the two most important. He did not announce the U.S. position—an admission in itself. But he stressed that these "emotional" issues should be debated objectively and that the U.S. intended to play the role of "moderator."

What he was saying was that the U.S. would do its best to bury colonial issues by all the procedural tricks.

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